

## Women and words: texts by and about women

SUSAN ASHBROOK HARVEY

Women's authorship is rarely found in ancient Christianity. The oldest known artistic work of literature by a Christian woman to survive intact is the *Cento Vergilianus de laudibus Christi* by a fourth-century noblewoman commonly identified as Faltonia Betitia Proba (c. 320–c. 370).<sup>1</sup> Among the very first Christian poems in Latin, Proba's *Cento* is some 694 verses in length, retelling Christianity's sacred history as given in Genesis 1–8 and the New Testament Gospels through one of the most difficult classical literary genres, the cento (from the word for a patchwork cloak; late Gk κέντρων). A cento was a poem consisting solely of lines, half-lines or phrases drawn from earlier, generally epic, works and strung together to present an entirely new subject. Modern scholars have generally scorned the cento, seeing it as a mechanical exercise. But to the ancient eye, the cento in either Greek or Latin was a respected literary form: an artistic challenge of extraordinary difficulty because of its stringent requirements, displaying the highest degree of learning, and paying due reverence to the greatest poetry of the classical era.

Proba constructed her *Cento* entirely from lines of Virgil. Creation is told through the myth of the Golden Age and Christ is cast as an epic hero in the mould of Aeneas – a stern lawgiver, a valiant bringer of peace. Proba displays a dazzling ingenuity in presenting biblical stories through verses containing no biblical names and expressing an altogether different religious view. Jerome (*Ep. 53.7*) castigated her efforts to employ Virgil for Christian purposes, indicating by his very complaint the unusual degree to which Proba had succeeded in appropriating classical tradition for Christian use. Indeed, Proba's *Cento* circulated widely in the eastern and western Roman Empire, for some centuries serving in the West as a school text for teaching children classical Latin literature and Christian stories at one and the same time.

Proba's *Cento* is her only surviving work although we know of at least one other, a poem on the civil war between Constantius II and Magnentius. Neither of Proba's known works fit the rubric of 'women's subjects'; both

address patriarchal and politically foundational themes for the Empire of her day, themes that in no way make distinct the location of women's experience. Hence her work illuminates the specific interests to which classical education attended: a civic rather than domestic context, and the perspective of men who could be active players within that sphere, as well as the interlocked relationship between literature as public discourse and its political assumptions.

One other substantial Latin work by a Christian woman has partially survived from the late fourth century, known as the *Itinerarium* ('Journey' or 'Travels') of Egeria, an account of a woman's remarkable pilgrimage from the Western Roman Empire to the Holy Land between 381 and 384.<sup>2</sup> Surviving in a single eleventh-century manuscript, the damaged text has provoked heated debate as to the writer's exact name, dates, and place of origin.<sup>3</sup> The text itself is a narrative apparently written at the end of Egeria's journey from notes she took en route, and addressed to her 'dear ladies': the women of her spiritual community back home. The extant portion is in two parts: first, describing the journey from her approach to Mount Sinai until her stop in Constantinople, and secondly, a detailed account of the liturgical services and observances of the church calendar in Jerusalem.

Interestingly, while Egeria is always attentive to bridging the geographical and cultural distances that separate her spiritual sisters from biblical territory, her focus on her audience lends an exclusivity to her reporting. Despite her vivid accounts of the people who guided, hosted and informed her travels – bishops, abbots and civic dignitaries – no one is named in her text apart from her 'dearest' friend the deaconess and monastic superior Marthana, whom Egeria encountered twice during her travels.

Although virtually contemporary, Egeria's *Itinerarium* is as different from Proba's *Cento* as can be imagined. Written in a strikingly direct colloquial style, the *Itinerarium* appears to represent the vernacular speech of the day. Scholars have tended to view Egeria as literate but unlearned, for the text shows no evidence of training in the Latin classics. However, Egeria's Latin also gives every indication that a high degree of Christian education was becoming possible, without necessarily including classical study. Thus her vocabulary and syntax are steeped in the language of the Old Latin Bible and liturgy, while the liturgical information she provides from Jerusalem required an astute sophistication in matters of ecclesiastical ritual, office and tradition.

Not long after Egeria's pilgrimage, the Empress Eudocia (born Athenaïs; c. 400–60), wife of Theodosius II, produced highly accomplished Greek poetry.<sup>4</sup> As empress, Eudocia was part of an extraordinary intellectual flowering in Constantinople fostered by the court of Theodosius II with a sensibility akin

to Proba's, one that held classical tradition in deep reverence and sought to engage it for Christian expression.<sup>5</sup>

Eudocia is credited by later writers with having authored six works: hexameter versions of the books of Zechariah and Daniel; a hexameter paraphrase of the Octateuch; three books in hexameters on the martyrdoms of Cyprian and Justina; a Homeric address to the people of Antioch, delivered c. 438; a panegyric on the victory of Theodosius II over the Persians in 422; and a Homeric cento on the Life of Christ. Recently an encomium on the baths of Hammat Gader has also been identified as hers, surviving as a seventeen-line inscription.<sup>6</sup> Apart from this inscription and two stray lines from her other works, we have extant only 800 lines of the *Martyrdom of St. Cyprian*.<sup>7</sup> Eudocia's style has been harshly judged by modern scholars for her uneven command of metrical rules and the apparent lack of originality in her themes and chosen literary forms. If the former charge is strictly speaking true, the latter is more difficult to assess. Like Proba – a calligraphic copy of whose *Cento* was commissioned by Theodosius II, and whose influence on Eudocia thus seems likely – Eudocia wrote Christian literature in the forms and style of classical tradition; like Proba she wrote biblical paraphrases for the didactic purpose of combining classical literature with Christian sacred story; like Proba she wrote primarily on topics of civic import and political persuasion, without specific reference to 'women's experience' (albeit she wrote as empress: hardly a standard vantage point). Her chosen literary mode of expression was one that her culture would value far more than ours. In the sixth century, the noblewoman Anicia Juliana (d. 528) cited Eudocia's model in the elegant epigram she produced for inscription in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople, a rare and sumptuous joining of literary and visual arts.<sup>8</sup>

These few women are the only known female authors from the fourth to the sixth centuries whose works survive. At the turn of the sixth century, and of entirely different literary quality, two hagiographies authored by women appeared, one each in Latin and Greek. The *Life* of Queen Radegund (d. 587) was written around 600 by her companion the nun Baudonivia.<sup>9</sup> Accounts of Radegund by Venantius Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours emphasize domestic devotional life, (private) individual acts of mercy, and her horrifying self-mortification. By contrast, Baudonivia highlights Radegund's political and civic involvements, as well as her theological and spiritual teachings; the difference is arresting. Around 630, the nun Sergia, superior of the Constantinopolitan convent founded by the late fourth-century holy woman Olympias, wrote a short narrative on the transfer of Olympias' relics and the volatile formation of her cult.<sup>10</sup> These two hagiographies point to a second category

of ‘women’s words’ that survive from this period, in the form of teachings ascribed to women saints.

The well-known *Sayings of the Desert Fathers (Apophthegmata Patrum)*, the collected teachings of Egypt’s great fourth- and fifth-century monastic saints, preserve the sayings of three women: Theodora, Sarah and Syncletica.<sup>11</sup> Sayings make use of anecdotes, instructions, insights and admonitions to provide spiritual direction. Because the collections were edited with much reworking from oral tradition, it is difficult to establish authenticity. Many sayings circulated anonymously or under more than one name. The fact that ten sayings are ascribed to Theodora, nine to Sarah, and twenty-seven to Syncletica indicates the surpassing reputations of these women, as well as the poverty of our extant sources. The sayings of Theodora and Syncletica are addressed to religious communities of women, although the sayings of both (and especially Theodora’s) are inclusive of the experiences of monks. Sarah seems to have been a solitary, and her sayings affirm grave tension around the issue of gender and spiritual authority.<sup>12</sup>

Syncletica’s importance may be measured not only by the large number of sayings attributed to her in the *Apophthegmata*, but also by the anonymous fifth-century hagiography about her.<sup>13</sup> In the *Vita*, eighty of the 113 chapters present Syncletica’s teachings to her nuns, in several places closely connected to those attributed to her in the *Apophthegmata*. Heavily influenced by Evagrius Ponticus, her teachings contain lively metaphors drawn from urban and domestic life as well as striking use of imagery related to the suffering of illness.

A similar picture survives for Macrina, the sister of Gregory of Nyssa and Basil of Caesarea. In his *Life of Macrina*, Gregory presents her as a holy woman to be remembered above all as a teacher – of himself, her family and household, her convent, and women throughout the region – styling her as a true philosopher.<sup>14</sup> In his treatise *On the Soul and Resurrection*, Gregory purports to describe the conversation he had with Macrina on her deathbed<sup>15</sup> in a literary form modelled on Plato’s *Phaedo*.<sup>16</sup> Scholars are divided as to whether Gregory here honours Macrina by using her as a literary device for his own views – as Plato did with Socrates – or whether he is actually representing her words.<sup>17</sup> In the *Vita* Gregory presents Macrina as one who consciously rejected all classical education, choosing instead devoted study of Scripture and other sacred writings. While Basil, Gregory, and their friend Gregory of Nazianzus epitomized the Christian appropriation of classical education and culture, Gregory depicts Macrina paradoxically as both the antithesis of such education and as the true exemplar of philosophical wisdom: a common topos in hagiographical literature of the time.

Macrina presents the same conundrum as Syncletica, Sarah and Theodora. To what extent can we understand the men who wrote these texts to have reproduced what these women said? Or did literary as well as cultural dictates form a presentation that in fact occluded not only the words of these women but even their effective presence, allowing men to present their own teachings through the fictive voices of women, as Plato did with Diotima in his *Symposium* (a work clearly influencing Gregory's portrait of Macrina)?<sup>18</sup> The problem persists in the array of hagiographical literature from this period that presents holy women as authoritative teachers, especially of women but also of men, with regard to theological, moral and scholarly matters. Melania the Elder, friend of Rufinus; her granddaughter Melania the Younger; the circle of the Roman matron Marcella, well known to Jerome, as well as his beloved companions Paula and her daughter Eustochium; Nonna and Gorgonia, mother and sister of Gregory of Nazianzus; Olympias, deaconess and friend of John Chrysostom: all are portrayed in our ancient sources as exceptionally discerning religious instructors, and some also as distinguished scholars.<sup>19</sup>

Of the teachings of these women, nothing survives to us apart from the descriptions provided by the men who wrote in their praise. Notoriously, even when they were known to be correspondents – Melania with Rufinus; Marcella, Paula, Eustochium and others with Jerome; Olympias with Chrysostom – their letters were not preserved. The one possible exception is Jerome's Letter 46 to Marcella, which some scholars now attribute to Paula and Eustochium, inviting Marcella to join them in the Holy Land.<sup>20</sup> Only a few letters by women survive from this period, almost all of them written by empresses or queens on official matters (for example, to popes).<sup>21</sup> They remind us that women could, in exceptional circumstances, participate in the political discourse of the day, but they do not illuminate us further. Similarly, we know that women were patrons of literature: Gregory of Nazianzus wrote a poem for Olympias' wedding,<sup>22</sup> and Gregory of Nyssa's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* was also dedicated to her.<sup>23</sup> Other works were dedicated to the sisters or women friends of the authors. Does this evidence indicate women's participation in learned literary activity? Or did the education of women encourage their formation as students and scholars, rather than as 'producers' of literature?<sup>24</sup>

The dilemma presented by the hagiographical portraits of holy women applies also when asking whether or not any of the *Vitae* was written by women, a question that has also been raised for some of the Apocryphal Acts.<sup>25</sup> The sixth-century *Life of Febronia*, originally composed in Syriac but popular also in Greek and Latin, claims to have been written by Febronia's companion nun Thomaïs.<sup>26</sup> Its portrayal of convent life is vibrantly positive,

both in terms of the spiritual friendships between the nuns and regarding their devotion to learning and philosophical discourse. Because of similar emphases, a woman author has been proposed for the anonymous sixth-century Greek *Life of Matrona of Perge*.<sup>27</sup> Two caveats warn against such assumptions, however. First, hagiographical literature, like its predecessor the Greek novel, by its literary dictates granted a greater visibility to the domestic sphere, including a greater role for female characters. The reasons had to do with ideological shifts in the depiction of proper religious life and with concern about social control during an era of political and religious upheaval, but not with an improved interest in or social status for women.<sup>28</sup> In the case of Febronia, for example, the character of Thomaïs is essential for the story's narrative (parts of which could not have been witnessed by a man); and the depiction of the convent is cast in terms of classical descriptions of the (male) philosophical ideals of friendship and community. Second, men clearly could write with deep admiration about holy women, as did Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome. A positive portrait of a woman does not indicate the gender of the writer.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, we may take the parallel from apocryphal literature as instructive in the sense that hagiography was both a literary and an oral discourse. It may well be that some of the anonymous hagiographies reflect women's stories as women told them. Certainly, we may be sure that women and men could hear these stories differently in terms of how they addressed women's experience.<sup>30</sup> Beyond this, we cannot say more.

The Christian literature by and about women surviving from late antiquity presents us with substantial evidence that the women authors whose names we know represent the tip of an iceberg. Aristocratic women sometimes obtained the same classical education as men; women of lesser means could still attain a high level of learning, particularly in Bible and other Christian literature, especially in convents where women were clearly expected to cultivate such learning as a part of their religious formation. From both populations, women corresponded with bishops, theologians and spiritual leaders. We know that women wrote, far more than the few extant pieces we have.<sup>31</sup> What survives is the record of words lost. The silence is deafening.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth A. Clark and Diane F. Hatch, *The Golden Bough, the Oaken Cross: the Virgilian Cento of Faltonia Betitia Proba* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981) reproduces the critical edition of Carolus Schenkl in Michael Petschenig, ed., *Poetae Christiani*

*Minores*, CSEL 16 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1888; repr. New York: Johnson, 1972) on pp. 511–640, with ET and excellent commentary. Recently Proba's identity has been questioned, although the view has not met with wide acceptance. See Danuta Shanzer, 'The Anonymous *Carmen contra paganos* and the Date and Identity of the Centonist Proba', *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 32 (1986), 232–48; Hagith Sivan, 'Anician Women, the Cento of Proba, and Aristocratic Conversion in the Fourth Century', *VigChr* 47 (1993), 140–57.

- 2 E. Franceschini and R. Weber, *Itinerarium Egeriae*, CCSL 175 (1965), 27–90; Pierre Maraval and Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Journal de voyage (itinéraire)*, SC 296 (1982). An exceptionally fine commentary accompanies the ET in John D. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. edn (Jerusalem: Ariel; Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1981). See also George E. Gingras, *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, ACW 38 (1970).
- 3 See the collected bibliography in Marek Starowieyski, 'Bibliografia Egeriana', *Augustinianum* 19 (1979), 297–318.
- 4 The ancient *testimonia* as well as extant fragments of her works are collected in Arthur Ludwich, *Eudociae Augustae, Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum graecorum reliquiae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1897).
- 5 See esp. Kenneth G. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses: Women and Imperial Dominion in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Alan Cameron, 'The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II', in *Literature and Society in the Early Byzantine World* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1985), III.
- 6 Judith Green and Yoram Tsafrir, 'Greek Inscriptions from Hammat Gader: A Poem by the Empress Eudocia and Two Building Inscriptions', *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982), 77–96.
- 7 English translation in M. Thiébaut, *The Writings of Medieval Women: An Anthology*, 49–69.
- 8 A truly extraordinary achievement in both artistic modes: see Carolyn L. Connor, 'The Epigram in the Church of Hagios Polyeuktos in Constantinople and its Byzantine Response', *Byzantion* 69 (1999), 479–527. The epigram of 76 lines was also preserved in the *Greek Anthology*; see the discussions in Connor, 'Epigram', *passim*.
- 9 Translated and discussed in J. M. Petersen, *Handmaids of the Lord: Holy Women in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, 365–41, along with the *Vita* by Fortunatus and the account of her funeral by Gregory of Tours. Petersen mistakenly claims to present the first ET of the two hagiographies of Radegund. Both, however, were skilfully translated and discussed in *Sainted Women of the Dark Ages*, ed. and trans. Jo Ann McNamara and John E. Halborg with E. Gordon Whatley (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992), at 60–105.
- 10 Discussed and translated in E. A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations*, 107–57. The Greek was edited by Hippolyte Delehaye, 'Narratio Sergiae de Translatione Sanctae Olympiadis', *Analecta Bollandiana* 16 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1897), 44–51.

11 The best source at present is the Greek version in Migne, *PG* 65, cols 71–440, supplemented with J.-C. Guy, *Recherches sur la Tradition Grecques des Apophthegmata Patrum*, *Subsidia Hagiographica* 36 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1962). ET in Benedicta Ward, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: the Alphabetical Collection*, rev. edn (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1984).

12 See Benedicta Ward, 'Apophthegmata Matrum', *SP* 16.2, ed. Elizabeth A. Livingstone, *TU* 129 (1985), 63–6.

13 *Vita S. Syncleticae*, Migne, *PG* 28, 1487–1558; trans. Elizabeth A. Castelli, 'Pseudo-Athanasius, *The Life and Activity of the Holy and Blessed Teacher Syncletica*', in Vincent Wimbush, ed., *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990), 265–311. There is another ET by Elizabeth Bryson Bongie, *The Life of Blessed Syncletica by Pseudo-Athanasius* (Toronto: Peregrina Publishing Co., 1996).

14 *Vita S. Macrinae*, ed. Virginia Woods Callahan in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, ed. Werner Jaeger (Leiden: Brill, 1959), VIII.1, 347–414; ET by Virginia Woods Callahan, *Gregory of Nyssa, Ascetical Works*, *FC* 58 (1967), 161–91. See also Pierre Maraval, *Vie de sainte Macrine*, *SC* 178 (1971).

15 *Vita S. Macr.*, ed. Callahan, VIII.1, 389–91.

16 Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione dialogus*, *PG* 46, 11–160; trans. Virginia Woods Callahan, *Gregory of Nyssa, Ascetical Works*, 195–272. There is another ET by Catharine P. Roth, *St. Gregory of Nyssa, The Soul and the Resurrection*, *PPS* (1993).

17 E.g., J. Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture, passim*, uses the *Vita S. Macrinae* and the *De anima et resurrectione* to present Macrina as a thinker quite independent of her brother, referring to her throughout his book as 'the Fourth Cappadocian'. See the more subtle treatment in Ruth Albrecht, *Das Leben der heiligen Makrina auf dem Hintergrund der Thekla-Traditionen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1986).

18 See the pivotal works of David M. Halperin, 'Why is Diotima a Woman?' in *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality and Other Essays on Greek Love* (New York: Routledge, 1990) 113–51, 190–211; Averil Cameron, 'Virginity as Metaphor: Women and the Rhetoric of Early Christianity', in Averil Cameron, ed., *History as Text: The Writing of Ancient History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 181–205.

19 Palladius, *Lausiac History*, chs 5, 9, 18, 38, 46, 54; Denis Gorce, *Vie de Sainte Mélanie*, *SC* 90 (1962); ET by Elizabeth A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1984); Jerome, *Ep.* 45, 47, 108, 127; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 8 (on Gorgonia) and *Or.* 18 (on his father); 'Vie d'Olympias', ed. Anne-Marie Malingrey, in *Jean Chrysostome: Lettres à Olympias*, 2nd edn, *SC* 13 bis (1968), 393–449, ET in Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends*, 107–44.

20 The Latin is edited in Isidorus Hilberg, *Sancti Eusebii hieronymi epistolae*, Pt 1, *CSEL* 54 (Vienna: F. Tempsky; Leipzig: G. Freytag, 1905), 329–44; translation and discussion in P. Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of*

*Texts from Perpetua* (203) to *Marguerite Porete* (1310), 17–19, where it is discussed in comparison with Egeria's *Itinerarium*.

- 21 Editions and translations (where they exist) are listed in A. Kadel, *Matrology: A Bibliography of Writings by Christian Women from the First to the Fifteenth Centuries*, 55–61.
- 22 'Ad Olympiadem', Migne, PG 37, 1542–50.
- 23 *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, ed. Jaeger, VI, 3.
- 24 See the incisive discussion by G. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles*, 119–38.
- 25 See especially Ross S. Kraemer, 'Women's Authorship of Jewish and Christian Literature in the Greco-Roman Period', in A.-J. Levine, ed., 'Women Like This': *New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World*, 221–42.
- 26 The Syriac is edited in Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum* 5 (Paris and Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1895), 573–615; ET and notes in Sebastian P. Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient*, 150–76, 192–3. No known work by a woman survives in Syriac from the ancient Christian period. The *Life of Febronia*, despite its claims, is unlikely to have been authored by a woman. There is the intriguing possibility of one anonymous verse homily (*mimre*) of the sixth century, where the author seems to make one brief self-reference with a feminine singular verb form; see Sebastian P. Brock, 'Two Syriac Verse Homilies on the Binding of Isaac,' *Le Muséon* 99 (1986), 61–129, at 98–9.
- 27 The Greek is edited by Hippolyte Delehaye, *Acta Sanctorum Novembris* 3 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1910), 790–813; trans. by Jeffrey Featherstone and Cyril Mango in *Holy Women of Byzantium: Ten Saints' Lives in English Translation*, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Publications, 1996), 13–64. Female authorship has been suggested by Eva Catafygioti Topping, 'St. Matrona and Her Friends: Sisterhood in Byzantium', in J. Chrysostomides, ed., *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus Press, 1988), 211–24.
- 28 Cf. the discussion in Susan Ashbrook Harvey, 'Sacred Bonding: Mothers and Daughters in Early Syriac Hagiography', *JECS* 4 (1996), 27–56.
- 29 Mary R. Lefkowitz, 'Did Ancient Women Write Novels?' in Levine, ed., 'Women Like This', 199–219.
- 30 Harvey, 'Sacred Bonding'; Carolyn Walker Bynum, 'Introduction: The Complexity of Symbols', in Carolyn Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell and Paula Richman, eds, *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 1–20.
- 31 I have not treated, for reasons of space, a few secular poems possibly by women and a handful of epitaphs. See Kadel, *Matrology*, 44, 51–2, 54.

## *Abbreviations of patristic and other texts*

*AcPT* = *Acta Pauli et Theclae*

*AcJ* = *Acta Justini*

*Ad Nov.* = *Ad Novatianum*

*Adol.* = *Ad Adolescentes de legendis libris gentilium*

*Ad Phil.* = *Ad Philippense*

*Ad Serap.* = *Ad Serapionem*

*Afric.* = *Epistula ad Africanum*

*AH* = *Adversus Haereses*

*An.* = *De Anima*

*APet.* = *Acta Petri*

*Apol.* = *Apologeticum* or *Apologia*

*Apol. c. Hier.* = *Apologia contra Hieronymum*

*Apol. c. Ruf.* = *Apologia contra Rufinum*

*Ar.* = *Contra Arianos*

*Autol.* = *Ad Autolycum*

*Bapt.* = *De Baptismo*

*Barn.* = *Epistula Barnabae*

*Bibl. Cod.* = *Photius, Bibliotheca*, cited by codex

*Bon.* = *De bono mortis*

*BPud.* = *De Bono Pudicitiae*

*Carn.* = *De Carne Christi*

*Cast.* = *De Exhortatione Castitatis*

*Cat.* = *Catechesis*

*Cels.* = *Contra Celsum*

*CG* = *Contra Gentes*

*Chron.* = *Chronicon*

*I Clem.* = *Prima Epistula Clementis*

*II Clem.* = *Epistula Secunda Clementis*

*Coet.* = *Oratio ad sanctorum coetum*

*List of abbreviations of patristic and other texts*

*Comm. in Mt.* = *Commentarius in Matthaeum*  
*CommPs.* = *Commentarius in Psalmos*  
*Conf.* = *Confessions*  
*Cor.* = *De Corona*  
*CTheod.* = *Codex Theodosianum*  
*Dan.* = *in Danielem*  
*Dec.* = *De Decretis*  
*Dem.* = *Demonstratio Praedicationis Apostolicae*  
*Demetr.* = *Ad Demetrianum*  
*Dial.* = *Dialogus*  
*Did.* = *Didache*  
*Diog.* = *Epistula ad Diogenetum*  
*EcProph.* = *Eclogae Propheticae*  
*Enn.* = *Enneades*  
*Ep(p).* = *Epistulae*  
*Ephes.* = *Ep. ad Ephesios*  
*ETH.* = *Ecclesiastica Theologia*  
*Eun.* = *Contra Eunomium*  
*Fug.* = *De Fuga*  
*Graec.* = *Oratio ad Graecos*  
*Greg.* = *Ep. ad Gregorium*  
*Haer.* = *Refutatio omnium haeresium or Haereticarum fabularum compendium*  
*HE* = *Historia Ecclesiastica*  
*Herac.* = *Disputatio cum Heracleida*  
*Herm.* = *Adversus Hermogenem*  
*HExod.* = *Homilia in Exodus*  
*Hom. in Jud.* = *Homilia in Judices*  
*HR* = *Historia Romana*  
*Idol.* = *De Idololatria*  
*Idola* = *Quod idola dii non sint*  
*Ieiun.* = *De Ieiunio*  
*Il.* = *Ilias*  
*In Eph.* = *In Ephesios*  
*In Rep.* = *In Rempublicam*  
*Inst.* = *Institutiones or Institutiones Divinae*  
*Inv.* = *De Inventione*  
*Io.* = *Commentarius in Ioannem*  
*Ira* = *De Ira Dei*  
*Laps.* = *De Lapsis*

*List of abbreviations of patristic and other texts*

*Laus.* = *Historia Lausiaca*

*Leg.* = *Legatio*

*Magn.* = *Ad Magnesios*

*Mand.* = *Mandata*

*Marc.* = *Adversus Marcionem* or *Contra Marcellum*

*Mart.* = *Exhortatio ad Martyrium* or *De Martyribus Palestinae*

*Med.* = *Meditationes*

*Mon.* = *De Monogamia*

*Mort.* = *De Mortibus Persecutorum*

*MPol.* = *Martyrium Polycarpi*

*Nat.* = *Adversus Nationes*

*NHC* = *Nag Hammadi Codices*

*Noet.* = *Contra Noetum*

*Od.* = *Odysseas*

*Opif.* = *De Opificio Dei*

*Or.* = *De Oratione* or *Oratio*

*Paed.* = *Paedagogus*

*Paen.* = *De Paenitentia*

*Pan.* = *Panarion*

*Pan. Or.* = *Panegyrica in Origenem*

*Pass. Perp.* = *Passio Perpetuae*

*Pass. Scil.* = *Passio Sanctorum Scillitanorum*

*Philad.* = *Ad Philadelphenos*

*Polyc.* = *Epistula ad Polycarpum*

*Praescr.* = *De Praescriptione*

*Prax.* = *Adversus Praxean*

*PrEv.* = *Praeparatio Evangelica*

*Princ.* = *De Principiis*

*Procat.* = *Procatechesis*

*Pud.* = *De Pudicitia*

*Q.* = *Quaestio*

*Ref.* = *Refutatio Confessionis Eunomii*

*Rep.* = *Respublica*

*Res.* = *De Resurrectione Carnis*

*Rom.* = *Ad Romanos*

*Ruf.* = *Adversus Rufinum*

*Scap.* = *Ad Scapulam*

*Scorp.* = *Scorpiace*

*Sim.* = *Similitudines*

*List of abbreviations of patristic and other texts*

*Smyrn.* = *Ad Smyrnaeos*  
*Spect.* = *De Spectaculis*  
*SpS* = *De Spiritu Sancto*  
*Strom.* = *Stromateis*  
*Syn.* = *De synodo* or *De synodis*  
*TestDom.* = *Testimonium Domini*  
*Tom. ad Ant.* = *Tomus ad Antiochenos*  
*Trall.* = *Ad Trallianos*  
*Trin.* = *De Trinitate*  
*Ux.* = *Ad Uxorem*  
*Val.* = *Contra Valentinianos*  
*Virg.* = *De Virginitate*  
*Vir. Ill.* = *De Viris Illustribus*  
*Vis.* = *Visio*

## *Other abbreviations*

These abbreviations are used in the notes, and in the bibliographies, where publication details can be found.

ACO: *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*  
ACW: Ancient Christian Writers  
AGLS: Alcuin/Grove Liturgical Studies  
ANF: The Ante-Nicene Fathers  
ANRW: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*  
BGL: Bibliothek der Griechischen Literatur  
BLE: *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*  
BMus: *Bibliothèque du Muséon*  
CAH: *Cambridge Ancient History*  
CCSG: Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca  
CCSL: Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina  
CHLG: *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*  
CSCO: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium  
CSEL: Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum  
CPG: *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*  
CPL: *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*  
CSS: Cistercian Studies Series  
CWS: Classics of Western Spirituality  
DCB: Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines  
DEC: *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*  
DLT: Darton Longman and Todd  
DSp: *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, histoire et doctrine*  
ECF: Early Church Fathers  
EEC: *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*  
ET: English translation  
FC: Fathers of the Church

*List of other abbreviations*

GCS:	Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
Greg.:	<i>Gregorianum</i>
GTS:	Grazer Theologische Studien
HeyJ:	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
HeyM:	Heythrop Monographs
HTR:	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUT:	Hermeneutische Untersuchungen zur Theologie
JAC:	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JECS:	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JSNT:	<i>Journal for the Study of New Testament</i>
JSOT:	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JTS:	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCC:	Library of Christian Classics
MGH:	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
OCA:	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCP:	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
ODCC:	<i>Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
OECS:	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OECT:	Oxford Early Christian Texts
PG:	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PIOS:	Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum (now, Pontificio Istituto Orientale)
PL:	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PO:	<i>Patrologia Orientalis</i>
PPS:	Popular Patristics Series
PTS:	Patristische Texte und Studien
RBen:	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
RechSR:	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
REL:	<i>Revue des Études Latines</i>
SA:	<i>Studia Anselmiana</i>
SBAW:	Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie des Wissenschaften
SBL:	Studies in Biblical Literature
SC:	Sources chrétiennes
SCH:	<i>Studies in Church History</i>
SEA:	<i>Studia Ephemeridis</i> «Augustinianum»
SecCent:	<i>Second Century</i>
SP:	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
ST:	Studi e Testi
SWGS:	Schriften der wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft in Strassburg

*List of other abbreviations*

TCH: Transformation of the Classical Heritage  
ThH: Théologie Historique  
TRE: *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*  
TS: Texts and Studies  
TTH: Translated Texts for Historians  
TU: Texte und Untersuchungen  
VigChr: *Vigiliae Christianae*  
ZAC: *Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum/Journal of ancient Christianity*  
ZKG: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*  
ZNW: *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*

## Bibliographies

The bibliographies are arranged as follows: first there are general bibliographies that apply to the whole work; then follow bibliographies arranged according to the three parts of the book, these begin with a general bibliography for the whole part, followed by more detailed bibliographies arranged by chapters of the sections A of each part (there are no specific bibliographies for the chapters of sections B, as these chapters are, of their nature, general).

### Lexica, dictionaries and encyclopedias

*L'Année philologique: bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité gréco-latine* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1928–).

*Biblia patristica: index des citations et allusions bibliques dans la littérature patristique*, J. Allenbach et al., eds (Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975–).

*Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII nella Pontificia Università lateranense, 1961–1970); *Indici* (Rome: Città Nuova, 1991); *Prima appendice* (Rome: Città Nuova, 1992); *Seconda appendice* (Rome: Città Nuova, 2000).

*Bibliotheca sanctorum orientalium: Encyclopedie dei santi: le chiese orientali*, J. N. Cañellas and S. Virgulin, eds, 2 vols (Rome: Città Nuova, 1998–9).

*Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, F. W. Bautz and T. Bautz, eds (Hamm: Bautz, 1970–).

*The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, K. Parry and J. Hinnells, eds (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000).

*Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*, J.-C. Haelewycck, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, M. Geerard, ed., 5 vols (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–87); *Supplementum*. M. Geerard and J. Noret, eds (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998). Cited by item number.

*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, E. Dekkers, ed. (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995<sup>3</sup>). Cited by item number.

*A Compendious Syriac Lexicon*, J. Payne Smith, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903).

*A Coptic Dictionary*, W. E. Crum, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939).

*The Coptic Encyclopedia*, A. Z. Atiya, ed., 8 vols (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, M. J. Walsh, ed. (London: Continuum and Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2001).

*Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*, W. Smith and H. Wace, eds, 4 vols (London: J. Murray, 1877–87).

## Bibliographies

*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, F. Cabrol, ed., 15 vols (Paris: Letouzy et Ané, 1907–53).

*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, A. Baudrillart et al., eds (Paris: Letouzey, 1912–).

*Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, histoire et doctrine*, M. Viller et al., eds, 16 vols (Paris: Beauchesne, 1932–95).

*Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, A. Vacant et al., eds, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908–50).

*Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens*, A. Blaise and H. Chirat, eds (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954).

*Dizionario encyclopedico dell'Oriente cristiano*, E. G. Farrugia, ed. (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2000).

*Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*, A. di Berardino, ed., 3 vols (Marietti: Casale Montferrato, 1983). ET: *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, W. H. C. Frend, ed., 2 vols (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1992).

*Dizionario sintetico di patristica*, C. Vidal Manzanares, ed. (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995).

*Encyclopedia of Early Christianity*, Everett Ferguson, ed., New York: Garland Publishing, 1990, 1998<sup>2</sup>.

*A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.*, A. Souter, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949).

*A Greek-English Lexicon*, H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, eds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996<sup>9</sup>).

*Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, E. A. Sophocles, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914).

*Latin Dictionary*, C. T. Lewis and C. Short, eds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963).

*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, M. Buchberger et al., eds (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993–<sup>3</sup>).

*The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998<sup>3</sup>).

*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, P. G. W. Glare, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

*A Patristic Greek lexicon*, G. W. H. Lampe, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968).

*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, T. Klauser et al., eds (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–).

*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, H. R. Balz et al., eds (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977–).

*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae CD-ROM*, version E, M. C. Pantelia, ed. (Irvine, CA: University of California, 1999).

*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900–).

*Thesaurus Syriacus*, R. Payne Smith et al., eds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879–1901).

## Series

### Texts

*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, Series I, ed. E. Schwartz and J. Straub (Strasbourg, 1914; Berlin, 1922–84); Series II, ed. sub auspiciis Academiae Scientiarum Bavaricæ (Berlin, 1984–).

## Bibliographies

*Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos* (Madrid: [various imprints], 1945–).

*Biblioteca Patristica* (Bologna: [various imprints], 1981–).

Corpus Christianorum. Series Apocryphorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1983–).

Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977–).

Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1953–).

Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Louvain: [various imprints], 1903–).

Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna: [various imprints], 1866–).

*Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, N. P. Tanner, ed., 2 vols (London: Sheed and Ward and Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990).

*Gnostische Schriften in Koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus*, C. Schmidt, ed., TU 8.1–2 (Leipzig, 1892).

Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1897–1941; Berlin and Leipzig: Akademie Verlag, 1953; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954–).

Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hanover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1890–).

Patristische Texte und Studien (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1964–).

*Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . . Series Graeca*, J.-P. Migne, ed., 162 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1857–66).

*Patrologiae Cursus Completus . . . Series Latina*, J.-P. Migne, ed., 221 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1844–64).

*Supplementum*, A. Hamman, ed., 5 vols (Paris, 1958–70).

*Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1903–66; Turnhout: Brepols, 1968–).

*Scrittori Greci e Latini* (Milan: A. Mondadori, 1974–).

Sources Chrétiennes (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1941–).

*Texte und Untersuchungen* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1882–1943; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1951–).

**N. B.:** The standard reference works for critical editions are *CPG*, for the Greek, and *CPL*, for the Latin, to which works the reader is referred for further particulars (see also the articles in *ODCC*). Only in exceptional cases will the detailed bibliographies for each chapter include references to particular critical editions.

## Translations

Ancient Christian Writers, ed. J. Quasten and others (Westminster, MD: Newman Press and London: Longman, Green and Co., 1946–67; Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1970–).

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325, Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds, 9 vols (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1882).

Cistercian Studies Series (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1969–).

Classics of Western Spirituality (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1946–).

Early Church Fathers, Carol Harrison, ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 1996–).

Fathers of the Church (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1949–1960; Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1962–).

Library of Christian Classics, 26 vols (London: SCM and Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953–1966).

Oxford Early Christian Texts, Henry Chadwick, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970–).

## Bibliographies

Popular Patristics Series (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1977–).  
A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Philip Schaff et al., eds, 14 vols, (Buffalo: Christian Literature Co., 1886–90).  
Translated Texts for Historians, ed. G. Clark et al. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1985–).

## General bibliography

B. Altaner, *Patrology* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961<sup>2</sup>).  
A. H. Armstrong, ed., *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967).  
*Classical Mediterranean Spirituality: Egyptian, Greek, Roman, World Spirituality* 15 (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986).  
P. Athanassiadi and Michael Frede, eds, *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).  
W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity*, ET of *Rechgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1964<sup>2</sup>) by R. Kraft et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971/London: SCM, 1972).  
A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922; repr. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968).  
J. Behr, *The Way to Nicaea*, The Formation of Christian Theology, I (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001).  
A. Di Berardino and B. Studer, *History of Theology*, I, ET by Matthew O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press 1996).  
*Bible de tous les temps*, I: *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, ed. C. Mondesert, II: *Le monde latin antique et la Bible*, ed. J. Fontaine and Ch. Pietri, III: *Saint Augustin et le Bible*, ed. A.-M. de la Bonnardière (Paris: Beauchesne, 1984–6).  
P. Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971).  
*The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1978).  
*The Body and Society* (London: Faber, 1989).  
Philip Burton, *The Old Latin Gospels* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).  
*The Cambridge History of the Bible*, I, ed. P. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans; II, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969–70).  
Averil Cameron, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse*, Sather Classical Lectures (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).  
H. von Campenhausen, *The Fathers of the Greek Church*, ET of *Griechische Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1955/London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963).  
*The Fathers of the Latin Church*, ET of *lateinische Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1960/London: Adam and Charles Black, 1964).  
F. Cayré, *Manual of Patrology and History of Theology* (Paris: Desclée, 1940).  
H. Chadwick, *History and Thought of the Early Church* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1982).  
*The Early Church*, rev. edn (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1993).  
*The Church in Ancient Society. From Galilee to Gregory the Great* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

## Bibliographies

M. L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, II, *Stoicism in Christian Latin Thought through the Sixth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1985).

M. B. Cunningham and P. Allen, eds, *Preacher and Audience. Studies in Early Christian and Byzantine Homiletics*, A New History of the Sermon, I (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

J. Daniélou, *A History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea*, 3 vols (I *The Theology of Jewish Christianity*, II *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture*, III *The Origins of Latin Christianity*, London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964–77). ET of *Histoires des doctrines chrétiennes avant Nicée*, 3 vols (Bruges: Desclée, 1958–78).

D. Dawson, *Christian Figural Reading and the Shaping of Christian Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

L. Duchesne, *The Early History of the Church*, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1909–24; ET of *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, 1906–10).

M. J. Edwards, ed., *Apologetics in the Roman Empire: Pagans, Jews and Christians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

P. F. Esler, ed., *The Early Christian World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

A.-J. Festugière, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols (Paris: J. Gabalda et Compagnie, 1950–4).

G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1986).

W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965). *The Rise of Christianity* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984).

C. W. Griggs, *Early Egyptian Christianity: From its Origins to 451 CE* (Leiden: Brill, 1991).

A. Grillmeier SJ, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, I, ET of *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der Kirche* by J. Bowden (London: Mowbrays and Atlanta, GA/Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1975<sup>2</sup>).

C. Haas, *Alexandria in Late Antiquity. Topography and Social Conflict* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997).

A. von Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 vols, 4th edn (Tübingen, 1909); ET (from 3rd edn), *History of Dogma*, 7 vols (London and Edinburgh: Norgate and Williams, 1894–9).

Ian Hazlett, ed., *Early Christianity, Origins and Evolution to AD 600* (London: SPCK, 1991).

W. Jaeger, *Early Christianity and Greek Paideia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

J. A. Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy* (London: Dorton, Longman and Todd, 1959, 1980<sup>2</sup>).

J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1960<sup>2</sup>). *Early Christian Creeds* (London: Longman, 1972<sup>3</sup>).

R. Lamberton, *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*. TCH 9 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).

H. Lietzmann, *A History of the Early Church*, 4 vols (Cleveland and New York: Meridian Books, 1961; revised, though still imperfect, ET of *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, Berlin, 1932–44).

A. Louth, *Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

B. McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism. Origins to the Fifth Century* (New York: Crossroad, 1991).

R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

H.-I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, ET of *L'Education dans l'Antiquité* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1948<sup>3</sup>) by G. Lamb (London: Sheed and Ward, 1956).

## Bibliographies

W. A. Meeks and R. L. Wilken, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978).

F. van der Meer and C. Mohrmann, eds, *Atlas of the Early Christian World* (London: Nelson, 1958).

F. Millar, *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

R. Mortley, *From Word to Silence*, 2 vols (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1986).

L.-S. le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, 16 vols (Paris: Charles Robustel, 1693–1712).

I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Rome: PIOS, 1965<sup>2</sup>).

J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, 5 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971–83).

J. Quasten with A. di Berardino, *Patrology*, 4 vols (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1986).

B. Ramsey, *Beginning to Read the Fathers* (London: SCM, 1993).

M.-J. Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier*, vol. I OCA 219 (Rome: PIOS, 1982).

P. Rousseau, *The Early Christian Centuries* (London, etc.: Longman, 2002).

A. Rousselle, *Porneia: On Desire and the Body in Antiquity*, ET of *Porneia: de la maîtrise du corps à la privation sensorielle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983) by F. Pheasant (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

M. Simon, *Verus Israel. A study of the relations between Christians and Jews in the Roman Empire (AD 135–425)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Littmann Library, 1986).

M. Simonetti, *Biblical Interpretation in the Early Church: An Historical Introduction to Patristic Exegesis*. ET of *Profilo storico dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome: Augustinianum, 1981) by J. Hughes, A. Bergquist, M. Bockmuehl, and W. Horbury (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994).

M. Sordi, *The Christians and the Roman Empire*, trans. A. Bedini (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma, 1986).

G. C. Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).  
*Philosophy in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

J. Stevenson, *A New Eusebius* (London: SPCK, 1963; revised edn, 1987).  
*Creeds, Councils and Controversies* (London: SPCK, 1966; revised edn 1987).

B. Studer, *Trinity and Incarnation. The Faith of the Early Church* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1993); ET of *Gott und unsere Erlösung im Glauben des Alten Kirche*, Düsseldorf, 1985).

K. Tanner, *Theories of Culture: a New Agenda for Theology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1997).

H. E. W. Turner, *The Pattern of Christian Truth* (London: Mowbray, 1954).

M. P. Weitzman, *From Judaism to Christianity: Studies in the Hebrew and Syriac Bibles*, Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement 8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

M. White, *Building God's House in the Roman World. Architectural Adaptation among Pagans, Jews and Christians* (London: Nelson, 1990).

R. R. L. Wilken, *The Christians as Romans Saw Them* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1984).

W. L. Wimbush and R. Valantasis, eds, *Asceticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

F. W. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

## Bibliographies

J. Driscoll, *The 'Ad monachos' of Evagrius Ponticus: Its Structure and a Select Commentary*, SA 104 (Rome: S. Anselmo, 1991).

Susanna Elm, 'Virgins of God'. *The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

H. G. Evelyn White, *The monasteries of the Wâdi 'n Natrûn . . .*, 3 vols (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1926–33).

C. Fraggiana di Sarzana, 'Apophthegmata Patrum', *SP* 29 (1997), 455–67.

G. Gould, *The Desert Fathers on Monastic Community*, OECS (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

A. Guillaumont, *Aux origines du monachisme chrétien: pour une phénoménologie du monachisme* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1979).

*Études sur la spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien* (Bégrolles-en-Mauges: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1996).

J.-C. Guy, 'Les Apophthegmata Patrum', in *Théologie de la vie monastique* (Paris: Aubier, 1961), 73–83.

*Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum*, Subsidia Hagiographica 36 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984<sup>2</sup>).

K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1936).

S. Marsili, *Giovanni Cassiano ed Evagrio Pontico*, SA 5 (Rome: Editrice Anselmiana, 1936).

P. Miquel, *Lexique du desert*, Spiritualité Orientale 44 (Bégrolles-en-Mauge: Abbaye de Bellefontaine, 1986).

P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority, and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).

S. Rubenson, *The Letters of St Anthony: Monasticism and the Making of a Saint* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995; revised version of thesis originally published by Lund University Press in 1990).

M. Sheridan, 'Il mondo spirituale e intellettuale del primo monachesimo egiziano', in A. Camplani, ed., *L'Egitto cristiano: Aspetti e problemi in età tardo-antica* (Rome: Augustinianum, 1997), 177–216.

C. Stewart, *Cassian the Monk* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

A. de Vogüé, *De Saint Pachôme à Jean Cassien: études littéraires et doctrinales sur le monachisme égyptien à ses débuts*, SA 120 (Rome: S. Anselmo, 1996).

## Chapter 35. Women and words: Texts by and about women

Sebastian P. Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987, updated edn 1998).

E. A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends: Essays and Translations*, Studies in Women and Religion 2 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1979).

G. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

P. Dronke, *Women Writers of the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua (203) to Marguerite Porete (1310)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

A. Kadel, *Matrology: A Bibliography of Writings by Christian Women from the First to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Continuum, 1995).

A.-J. Levine, ed., 'Women Like This': *New Perspectives on Jewish Women in the Greco-Roman World* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

## Bibliographies

J. M. Petersen, *Handmaids of the Lord: Holy Women in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1996).

M. Thiébaut, *The Writings of Medieval Women: An Anthology* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994<sup>2</sup>).

### Chapter 36. Conciliar records and canons

Records and canons are collected in:

P.-P. Joannou, ed., *Discipline générale antique (IV<sup>e</sup>–IX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, 3 vols in 2: I. 1: Les canons des conciles œcuméniques; I. 2: Les canons des Synodes Particuliers; II: Les canons des Pères Grecs, *Fonti fasc. IX*, (Grottaferrata, Rome: Tipografia Italo-Orientale «S. Nilo», 1962–3).

C. H. Turner, ed., *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899–1930).

N. P. Tanner, SJ, *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London: Sheed and Ward and Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990).

W. Bright, *The Canons of the First Four General Councils . . . with notes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892).

H. Chadwick, ‘The Origin of the Title “Oecumenical Council”’, *JTS* n.s. 23 (1972), 132–5.

J. Erickson, *The Challenge of Our Past* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1991).

C. Gallaher, *Church Law and Church Order in Rome and Byzantium. A Comparative Study*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 8 (Aldershot and Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Variorum, 2002).

H. Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Sardica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

G. Le Bras and J. Gaudemet, *Histoire du droit et des institutions de l’Église en Occident* (Paris: Sirey, 1955ff.).

P. L’Huillier, *The Church of the Ancient Councils* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1996).

N. Milasch, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, German translation from the Serbian by Alexander von Pessic (Mostar: Pacher & Kisic, 1905<sup>2</sup>).

E. Schwartz, ‘Die Kanonessammlungen der alten Reichskirche’, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, (Berlin, 1960; originally published in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 42, K. II (1921), 208–53).



### Map: The Roman Empire in the late fourth century AD